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(1) 12/3/56-1/18/57

January 18, 1957

To: Files

From: Henry Anderson

Subject: "Diary" of Activities, with Interpolated Comments

Monday, Dec. 3: 1956

On this day I received a crucial letter, from David Carnahan, Regional Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, in reply to mine of November 15. I had asked for certain figures concerning illegally entered Mexican aliens who had been apprehended by the Border Patrol. In May, 1954, the Border Patrol apprehended 95,310 "wetbacks" in the Southwest Region -- by extension a yearly rate of well over 1,000,000. A new Commissioner of Immigration was appointed soon after this, and for the first time, an all-out and continuous effort was made to round up the "wets." In September, 1955, apprehensions had dropped to 5,838; in September, 1956, to 3,133. A little over a third were apprehended in California. Mr. Carnahan also noted that "the character of aliens attempted to enter illegally from Mexico radically changed. ..in 1954 the larger percentage of those arrested were persons who were essentially law abiding in their own country and had come to this country only for the purpose of finding employment, whereas the large majority of those now being apprehended are either criminals with long records...or hardened and defiant aliens who have repeatedly been guilty of violation of the immigration laws."

Obviously, these statements, if accepted, pointed toward basic re-thinking of the project. The first thing to do, however, was to determine whether the current level of apprehensions by the Border Patrol is an accurate gauge of the number of "wetbacks" actually in the country. With this purpose in mind, I began to make appointments with people likely to be in a position to know whether the "wetback" tide had in fact receded in the striking manner suggested by Commissioner Carhahan.

Tuesday, Wednesday, Dec. 4 & 5:

Work in office. Wrote 15-20 letters. To whom?

Thursday, Dec. 6:

En route to Los Angeles. Read "The Recruitment and Placement of Farm Laborers in California, 1950", a special report of the Joint Legislative Committee on Agriculture and Livestock Problems.

Friday, Dec. 7:

Had long talks with Dr. Belle Dale Poole, Bureau of Maternal and Child Health, State Department of Public Health, and Miss Gwendolyn Beckman, Bureau of Medical Social Services, State Department of Public Health. Both

work out of the State Building in Los Angeles, and both have spent a great deal of time in Imperial County, providing consultative services to the local health department. Historically, Imperial County has been the locus of most "wetback" entry into California. Dr. Poole and Miss Beckmann were of the opinion that there were still an appreciable number of "wetbacks" in Imperial County. They also pointed out that there exists a large class of persons inthis region who, while legal entrants, nevertheless pose many of the health problems presumably associated with "wetbacks." These persons have what are called "border cards," which are an informal sort of pass enabling them to cross over into the U.S. during the daytime, to perform agricultural or domestic work. They are supposed to return to their homes in Mexico in the evening, but if they find themselves up around Brawley, picking lettuce, and darkness descends upon them -- who is to be the wiser if they stay all night in this country? Or, for that matter, all week, or all month? It seems there may well be something here worth looking into.

Dr. Poole and Miss Beckman had a number of suggestions as to informants in the Southern California area and Northern Mexico. Both appeared very much interested in the project, and pledged their cooperation in a most heartwarming manner.

Saturday, Dec. 8:

Introduced myself to Mr. Castellani, librarian of the Los Angeles Times. I was delighted to learn that the Times, largest of the four Los Angeles daily newspapers, maintains a "morgue" of just the sort I have been trying to locate. Clippings from the last twenty years or more are maintained in a detailed subject file. There are hundreds of items on "Migratory Farm Labor," and the like. Mr. Castellani, upon learning of my purposes, generously threw open the files to me, and I spent the remainder of the day transcribing materials by means of my portable typewriter. Naturally, none of the materials are allowed out of the offices of the Times.

Sunday, Dec. 9:

Returned to Times library, for more work on fugitive materials.

Monday, Dec. 10:

Had an hour's talk in the morning with Norman Craig, health educator with the Pan-American Sanitary Bureau in Mexico. It developed that in the early 1940's, Mr. Craig had been associated with the program whereby Mexican nationals were brought in to the U.S.under contract, to harvest the wartime crops. This was the forerunner of the present bracero program, which has grown far beyond anything envisaged at that time. Mr. Craig was also interested in the project since he is currently working on a demonstration program in rural health education, Guanajuato, Mexico, which is known to be an area from which a large number of braceros come. What sorts ofthings do braceros learn in the U.S. which they take back with them? How much of this "rubs off" on their families and friends? Mr. Craig confessed that he and his associates currently have no way of ascertaining these things which they very much need to know. It was agreed that our respective projects have much to contribute to one another.

Monday, Dec. 10 (cont.):

In the afternoon, interviewed Mr. Gladwin Hill, Pacific Coast correspondent for the New York Times. I was anxious to meet Mr. Hill, since he is one of the small handful of men in the country who have conducted research on the subject of "Wetbacks." In 1950-1951, Mr. Hill traveled 5,000 miles, throughout the Southwestern states, talking with just the sorts of people I hope to talk with. The results of his study were published in the New York Times, March 25-29, 1951. I was happy to learn that Mr. Hill has lost none of his interest in the subject, and has maintained a personal collection of relevant materials. This he very generously placed at my disposal. I asked him, as I ask everybody, what types of problems he considered most significant and most viable in this field at the present time. He seemed to feel that the general problem of labor organization -- or, rather, lack of it -- was particularly basic.

Tuesday, Dec. 11:

En route to Berkeley. Read materials loaned to me by Miss Beckman and Mr. Hill.

Wednesday, Dec. 12:

Had an hour-and-a-half talk with William W. Allan, former Farm Placement Representative in Alameda County and western Contra Costa County. The Farm Placement Service of the State Department of Employment plays a key role in the bracero program. Before a single Mexican national can be brought into this country under contract, it must be certified that there are insufficient domestic agricultural workers to fill the need. This certification is done by Farm Placement Representatives who are located throughout the state. Farm Placement Representatives are also responsible for determining "prevailing local wage rates" in agricultural labor. These wages are then written into the contracts of the Mexican nationals going into the various local areas. Mr. Allan is currently on leave of absence from his job, for reasons of health, but his eight years of experience in the field enabled him to tell me a great deal about the practical operation of the bracero program. He also suggested a number of his former colleagues with whom I might do well to get in touch.

Thursday, Dec. 13:

Spent the better part of the day arranging interviews, by telephone and letter.

Friday, Dec. 14:

Work in office.

Monday, Dec. 17:

Drove to San Jose, accompanied by Mr. Allan. Had an extremely lively 3½ hour talk with Joe Santana, Farm Placement Representative for Santa Clara County. Mr. Santana likes to call a spade a spade, and he talked very frankly about the problems attendant upon the bracero program in his district. It is very clear that health problems abound in this program, and that there

is ample subject matter here for a piece of research such as mine -- or, for that matter, a number of pieces of research.

Tuesday, Dec. 18:

Received a large quantity of mail today from some of my correspondents "abroad," including people in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the National Sharecroppers Fund, a private foundation in New York City. From the latter I received a pamphlet entitled "Strangers in Our Fields," by Ernesto Galarza. It is a sort of once-over-lightly of the things that are wrong in the bracero program -- housing, food, wages, health services, etc. It cannot be accepted uncritically, for Dr. Galarza (Ph.D. in Economics) is Research Director of the National Agricultural Workers Union, which has opposed the bracero program from the beginning. It is, furthermore, based on only a few months investigation, and is largely anecdotal and impressionistic. Nonetheless, it is adequate as a point of departure. Indeed, it must serve -- for it is the only study in existence of the subject.

Wednesday, Dec. 19:

Work in office.

Thursday, Dec. 20:

Drove to San Jose. Met Michael Gallardo, who is Compliance Officer of the U.S. Employment Service in Santa Clara, Santa Cruz, and parts of several other counties. It is the job of the Compliance Officers to see that the terms of the braceros' contracts are adhered to by both parties concerned. If an employer complains that his men are not performing satisfactorily, the Compliance Officer investigates. He tries to iron out the difficulty. If he does not succeed, he can have the braceros transferred, or sent back to Mexico. On the other hand, a contract laborer may complain to the Compliance Officer about working conditions, housing, or whatnot, and in these cases, the Compliance Officer goes to the employer or labor camp operator to try to smooth things out. Mr. Gallardo is a genial fellow who gave me three hours or more of his time, even though it can readily be seen that with a territory as vast as his, he must be extremely busy. After the first of the year, he is leaving his present position to take a job with the Growers' Association of Santa Clara County. He will continue to work closely with braceros, however, and said that he would be happy to take me around to see the camps in which they live, and so forth. I cannot but be impressed by the cooperation I have received from all sides -- including sides which I had feared might be indifferent to the project, if not downright antithetical.

Friday, Dec. 21:

In the morning, talked with John Hayakawa and Toni Palladino, health educators, San Jose Health Department. I was interested in learning what their department had done in the way of extending services to the Mexican "community" in San Jose -- a very large minority in that area.

Friday, Dec. 21 (cont.):

In the afternoon, talked with Irvin Fallis, Chief of the Sanitation Division, Santa Clara County Health Department. This was a long talk, since Mr. Fallis is greatly exercised over the position in which local health departments have been put vis-a-vis farm labor camps -- both those for Mexican nationals, and those for domestic workers. Under state law, the responsibility for inspecting such facilities, and the accompanying police power, rest with the Division of Housing, of the State Department of Industrial Relations. There are only a relative handful of inspectors (one man covers all of San Mateo, Santa Clara, and San Benito counties), and they are responsible, not only for labor camps (of which there are several hundred in Santa Clara County alone), but for hotels, auto courts, resorts, and kindred establishments as well. Obviously, the inspections can be neither frequent nor thorough. Even assuming the staff of the State Divisionof Housing were made adqquate to its tasks (let us say, quintupled), the situation would still be a bad one, in Mr. Fallis' opinion. "I've always felt that labor camps were a local problem," said he. We have here a very real administrative problem, and one which will have to be treated, in greater or lesser detail, in whatever report comes out of my study.

I also talked, this afternoon, with Ernie Bertellotti, Chief of the Health Education Division, Santa Clara County Health Department. As elsewhere, I was interested in the matter of conveying health services to a cultural minority, and, as elsewhere, found there is no recognition of the need for special programs for the Spanish-speaking. Or, perhaps I should say, whatever recognition of need may exist, nothing is being done, because none of the public health nurses, sanitarians, public health physicians, health educators, or others, are themselves of Mexican extraction or are able to speak Spanish. Somethingis not right here...

Saturday, Dec. 22:

Had a memorable two-hour conversation with Dr. Ernesto Galarza, author of the booklet mentioned above. Dr. Galarza is a brilliant and eloquent man, and completely dedicated to the discouraging cause of organizing America's farm laborers into unions. I got more cogent suggestions for research areas than can possibly be recounted here. Fortunately, the whole discussion was tape-recorded, so nothing will be lost.

Monday, Dec. 24:

Work in office.

Tuesday, Dec. 25:

Holiday.

Wednesday, Dec. 26:

Drove to San Jose again. Had an appointment with Mr. Gallardo, for the purpose of touring some bracero camps. He was called away unexpectedly. However, happened to meet an equally valuable contact, who had come into

the Farm Labor Office on other business. This fellow's name is O.C.Moore. He is the manager of a catering service which specializes in handling bracero camps. The service goes far beyond "catering" as normally defined. In addition to furnishing food, his outfit furnishes bedding, recreation, transportation, and everything else which the braceros may require, with the exception of the buildings in which the men are fed and housed. These are furnished by the growers. (In some areas, however, concessionaires provide housing, too.) Mr. Moore was as cordial as could be, and invited me to inspect one of his camps, 10 miles south of San Jose. After his kindness, I almost hated to have to record some of the things I saw, such as multiple violations of the State Labor Camp Code concerning toilets and garbage disposal. When I asked him if I might take some pictures, he said, "Sure. Go ahead."

I discussed at great length with Mr. Moore his problems, and it seems that the employers and the other people on their side of the fence have plenty of them. I located some areas in which it appeared that the interests of the growers, the workers, and the community-at-large were identical -- or at least sufficiently close that a program of health education directed at the workers, for example, would benefit all three parties. Mr. Moore accepted this idea enthusiastically, and I expect to have no difficulty getting into his camps at any time in the future for the purpose of either research or program. I wonder, though, if he would be equally enthusiastic about the proposal that he and his associates be "educated."

Thursday, Friday, Dec. 27-28:

Work in office.

Monday, Dec. 31:

Had another talk with William Allan. Arranged appointments for the coming week-end by telephone and letter.

Tuesday, Jan. 1:

Holiday.

Wednesday, Thursday, Jan. 2 & 3:

Work in office.

Friday, Jan. 4:

Drove to Stockton. Had a long interview, of over three hours, with Allyn Bainbridge, Farm Placement Representative for San Joaquin County, one of the richest agricultural areas in the world, and one of the heaviest users of Mexican national labor. Mr. Bainbridge is virtually a spokesman for the growers of the area, as he has no doubt had to be in order to survive fifteen years in his position. (Theoretically, however, Farm Placement Representatives are supposed to be completely impartial.) I am convinced,

on the basis of this talk, and others, that the bracero program is here to stay, in substantially its present form, for the indefinite future. The big growers of the state cannot get along without it -- at least, they are completely convinced they cannot get along without it -- and the big growers of California, in alignment with those of Texas, and a few other areas, seem to be able to write just about any legislation, or in this case executive agreements between nations, which they desire. The bracero program is big -- 455,000 in the U.S. in 1956, 130,000 in California, 25,000 in San Joaquin County -- it is here, it is going to stay here, and yet little is known about the way it really works. The things it does to the braceros themselves, the families they leave behind them, the American labor unions who are not allowed to organize them, the Mexican-Americans with whom they come into contact, the men who employ them, the American society-at-large, the Mexican society-at-large. I am absolutely convinced that I have had the good fortune to come upon an area for research which is even more promising than that of "wetbacks," with which it has a good deal in common. It is more promising because, unlike the "wetback" traffic, it is not subject to wild ups and downs as the result of political exigencies. It is, in a word, stable. And, perhaps even more important, it is something people are willing to talk about, and something I can talk freely about without any fear that I am aiding and abetting a criminal practice. Shameful abuses are taking place within the bracero program, and it is having side-effects of the greatest importance to social well-being -- but all these things are going on within a framework of law, meaning that they are amenable to investigation without the necessity of the investigator himself becoming a member of a criminal class. This is of the greatest importance, given my position.

Saturday, Jan. 5:

Talked with Mrs. Marie de Carli, a long-time resident of Stockton, who is a teacher in Citizenship and English Language classes in the adult education system. Her work is largely with Spanish-speaking aliens. Mrs. de Carli introduced me to Father McCullough, a local Catholic priest whose full-time job is ministering to the spiritual wishes and needs of braceros in the Stockton area. He is an immensely vigorous and likeable young man, and quite remarkable in his grasp of the way things spiritual are bound up with things social. I asked him, as I ask everyone, what specific problems of well-being he thought I should focus upon, and without hesitation he gave me a reply which is, I think, the most arresting I have yet received. It was this: the bracero program is, in effect, a program for dissolving Mexican homes. The men leave their wives and children in the villages of rural Mexico, and journey to one of the three large cities of Mexico where contracting takes place. They may wait weeks or months before signing a contract. They come to this country for terms ranging from a minimum of six weeks to a maximum of six months. But, the contracts may be extended, and re-extended, up to eighteen consecutive months. If, after that time, a worker wishes, he may return to Mexico for a "furlough," and his full eligibility is restored. Many of these simple, rural people find the life of the U.S., with its automobiles, television, honky-tonks, and relatively high wages, extremely exciting. The result: many don't go home to their

simple, rural villages at all, or go home only for a few days to restore the eligibility to come to the U.S. Some continue to send money home; some do not. Some enter into extra-legal liaisons with "wives" in the U.S., or in one of the large cities in Mexico.

The Catholic Church, of course, views the family as sacred and inviolable, and to the extent that it is aware of the things Father McCullough has seen, (which is not a great extent), it condemns the bracero program in its present form on moral grounds. As a scientist I suppose that I am not permitted to stand on such grounds, but I am permitted to discuss things in terms of their effect on health. If the concept of "social well-being" has any meaning at all, it seems to me that it begins in the home and family. If Father McCullough's analysis is correct, then it seems clear that we have here a situation inimical to social well-being. Important as housing, diet, sanitation, medical care, and so forth, are to physical well-being -- and naturally I intend to study this -- I am beginning to wonder if a workers' priest, wearing combat boots, hasn't put his finger on something even more important in the long run.

Sunday, Jan. 6:

Drove to Sacramento. Had a long talk with Joan Feast, ex- of the U.C.School of Public Health, who has had a long-standing interest in the healthof farm laborers. Joan is now working with the Sacramento Redevelopment Agency, and is concerned with relocating the people who are being displaced by the conversion of Sacramento's "skid row" into a park. However, she had some excellent suggestions concerning my project.

Monday, Jan. 7:

Back to Stockton. Talked with Mr. Herman Campos, U.S.E.S. Compliance Officer for San Joaquin, Stanislaus, and east Contra Costa Counties. His territory includes some 1,500 labor camps. Also present, purely fortuitously, was a man named Leo Doluca, who manages a 300-man bracero camp, and is himself a grower on the side. We three had a good talk, and, at the risk of repeating myself, I have to say that I am greatly pleased and impressed by the good spirit in which I and my project have been received by representatives of all factions. I am going to have no difficulty getting into bracero camps around Stockton...

In the afternoon, through the good offices of Father McCullough, met two more priests, Father McDonnell and Father Burke, who are working among Spanish-speaking farm laborers in Santa Clara and Alameda Counties, respectively. It appears that this archdiocese, with headquarters in San Francisco, is more alert to the implications and challenges of the bracero program than any other in the state, and perhaps in the country.

Tuesday, Wednesday, Jan. 8 & 9:

Work on Berkeley campus. (At the end of each field trip, I type up the notes I have taken during my various interviews. I like to make these as nearly complete as possible, as it is impossible to foresee what "trivial" comments will take on importance later in the study. The notes run 10-12 single-space typewritten pages per interview.)

Thursday, Jan. 10:

Drove to San Francisco. Had atalk with John Henning, Research Director for the California State Federation of Labor. It is a peculiar thing that here, for the first time, I encountered a "so what?" attitude. It would seem that the higher echelons of organized labor don't really care what is going on in agriculture, so long as the working man is doing all right in industry, transportation, and so forth. Mr. Henning spoke rather scornfully, I thought, about Dr. Galarza's Agricultural Workers Union, and indicated that the AFL-CIO had withdrawn the financial support it had been giving for the past few years. In any case, I accomplished the useful purpose which Dr. Breslow suggested at the Advisory Committee meeting: organized labor now knows that I am in the field, and there can be no claim later on that I have gone around behind anyone's back.

While at the State Federation of Labor headquarters, I met the librarian, and saw enough of the library to suspect that it was an even better source of the sort of materials I am interested in than the University of California library.

In the afternoon I went to a number of wholesale and retail outlets in San Francisco, sizing up two basic machines the project will soon need: a battery-operated tape recorder, and a Spanish-keyboard typewriter. No definite decisions yet on either score.

Friday, Jan. 11:

En route to Riverside, by car.

Saturday, Jan. 12:

Arrive Riverside. To the UC campus, where I inspected the grounds and facilities, with particular attention to the library. It looks as though the University of California at Riverside is essentially an agricultural school. In any case, it is very much more limited than I had anticipated. There are only 700 students. The library is quite modest, with relatively few resources in the special areas in which I am interested.

Monday, Jan. 14:

To San Bernardino. Met Matt Bogatin, health educator for the San Bernardino County Health Department. Matt was interested in the project, and is in a very strategic position to help. As a former sanitarian, he has been out to the various rural communities, with their Mexican "shanty-towns," and to the labor camps, and so forth. He knows a great many growers, labor contractors, and others, as well as all the public health personnel in the county. We discussed the possibility of my getting desk space, temporarily, with the County Health Department. I am not sure this will be necessary, but it is a thought...

Tuesday, Jan. 15:

To Claremont. This is the home of four colleges: Pomona, Scripps, Claremont Men's College, and Claremont Graduate School. A fifth, a school of science, is soon to be added. They are organized along the "Oxford system,"

with a great deal of autonomy, but a certain interchange of faculty, facilities, etc. I talked with the chairman of the Sociology Department, Dr. Alvin Scaff, about my project, and he seemed genuinely interested. He introduced me to Dr. W. Henry Cooke, of the Claremont Graduate School, who is nominally a Professor of Education, but is in effect a sort of sociologist-anthropologist without portfolio. Dr. Cooke has made a life work of the relationships between Anglos and Mexicans, and the problems of acculturation of the latter. He really pricked up his ears when I mentioned my intention of studying braceros, because this is an unknown, but a putatively important, quantity in the total Anglo-Mexican picture. He invited me to an annual conference on Anglo-Mexican relations, to be held in Claremont, February 11. I hope I shall be able to attend.

I was also told of another man, Dr. Hubert Herring, Professor of Latin American Studies at Pomona College, who, so it was said, will be able to help me a great deal. I did not, however, get a chance to meet him on this trip.

In the afternoon, I went to the central library of the four colleges. It is quite large, and seems to be strong in the fields of migratory farm labor, Mexican culture, Anglo-Mexican relations, and the like. All in all, I was very much impressed by the personnel and facilities of the Claremont colleges, and was forced to conclude that this would be a more logical "headquarters" than Riverside. Its proximity to orchards and labor camps, where braceros work and live, matches, and perhaps exceeds, that of Riverside.

Wednesday, Jan. 16:

En route to Berkeley.

Thursday, Jan. 17:

Arrive Berkeley. Begin clearing out office for my departure, and new associate's arrival.

Friday, Jan. 18:

Continue clearing out office. Write "diary."

(2) 1/10/57-3/10/57

March 10, 1957

To: Files

From: Henry Anderson

Subject: Progress Report

Due to illness, and a move, bag and baggage, of 450 miles since my last activities report, I have had opportunities for relatively little interviewing in the interim. I have, however, done a good deal of reading, and on the basis of this library research I should like to discuss in this report some of the more subtle "themes" I see emerging in the project -- themes which were not anticipated in the original prospectus, but which seem strongly relevant from my present perspective. They are significant, some are genuinely exciting, yet they pose a serious problem. Time is brief and life is fleeting. To what extent can I afford to pursue implications, however fascinating and important they may seem? Every strand traced to its loom means necessarily a little less attention to overt health status, and perhaps fewer statistical cases.

On the other hand, it may be asked with equal justice, to what extent can I afford not to pursue the implications which are suggested by my crude data? A meaningful sociological or public health study, I take it, must be something more than a mere collection of digits. My dilemma is the dilemma of every researcher: how does one find the vital middle ground between data grubbing which leads nowhere, and flights of imagination which soar insubstantially and without foundation? An answer can be forged only in the heat of the study itself, but perhaps a useful first step toward the answer lies in the recognition that the problem exists.

* * * * *

I. I believe that the most important of this study's implications which I perceive at the present time is that it is bound up with the relationship between the world of the West and the rest of the world. It is my personal opinion, or bias, that this relationship is the most dramatic and lastingly significant development of our era, and that the course of the next millenium or so will be shaped to a large degree by the nature of the relationship and its resolution. What is happening in Southeast Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and other "underdeveloped" areas is happening, in Mexico, as a by-product of the bracero program.

I use the term "by-product" because as the program operates at the present time it includes no efforts to instruct the workers in agricultural techniques, hygienic practices, literacy, or anything else. (This represents a corruption of the original intent of the program. The initial agreement between the U.S. and Mexican governments specified that the laborers were to receive some systematic form of education, particularly in farming methods, while in this country. Nothing in subsequent renewals of the agreement would lead one to believe that this specification had become eliminated. But in actual operation, American farmers and farmers' associations have practically complete control over the workers from the time they enter the country until they leave, and farmers are obviously in no position to conduct a program of technical assistance even if they were interested in doing so, which the vast majority of them are not.) Notwithstanding the fact that in-service training and didactic instruction are not a part of the bracero program, it may be hypothesized that most Mexican laborers are sufficiently acute to observe what is going on about them, and sufficiently pragmatic to note the respects in which American methods of irrigating, cultivating, harvesting, etc., are more efficient than those customarily employed in Mexico. It is in this respect that I feel the bracero program has a good deal in common with the programs of technical assistance being conducted by the U.S. and other Western nations and groups of nations throughout the non-Western world.*

Furthermore, the impact of Western civilization on the non-Western world is very great, quite aside from technical programs, and here again I perceive, or think I perceive, parallels between what is going on in Africa, Asia, etc., and what is going on as a wholly unintended by-product of the bracero program. The members of non-Western cultures who have contact with carriers of Western civilization inevitably gain impressions about this new, strange way of life -- impressions which are largely unpredictable, uncontrollable, and unknown to the Westerner. I have in mind such things as the non-Westerner's impressions of the Westerner's value system, and the non-Westerner's impressions of what is worth copying in this system and what is not. The ICA is exporting values, prejudices, and other states of mind as surely as it is exporting knowledge about how to build dams, set up public health departments, and educate the illiterate -- indeed, more surely, if we are to believe some critics of the efficacy of Point IV. It is the combination of these two sorts of exports -- the planned, organized "know-how" programs, and the imponderable, unplanned, uncontrollable sets of attitudes -- which in my judgment hold such volatile possibilities for the future. For the non-Westerner does not see the Westerner's culture as a whole. He is apt to condemn parts of it or embrace parts of it on grounds which ~~[illegible]~~ seem frivolous or arbitrary. The results, when combined with Western technology

* The parallel is, of course, far from complete. Among other differences is this: in most technical programs, the Western-nonWestern contact takes place within the nonWesterner's own cultural setting; in the bracero program the ~~[illegible]~~ contact takes place in the Westerner's cultural setting.

and survivals from the non-Westerner's former culture, is likely to be a monster, a deformed creature with too many limbs perhaps, and perhaps lacking a head -- or a heart.

I have received a hint of this in my talks to date with persons who are involved -- and I mean more than economically involved -- in the bracero program. Most braceros, I am told, come directly to the U.S. directly from their milpas, their tiny corn patches in the hills of Mexico. They are lacking the buffer which experience in urbanized areas of Mexico might afford. They are practically pure representatives of that world of villages which we Westerners are pleased to call "underdeveloped." What are they struck by in the U.S.? What are they impressed by? What are they envious of? What do they take home with them in the way of memories and aspirations? I do not know. Nobody knows. But I would like to find out. For if I knew, I would have an idea of how the world is tending. In the year 1957 it is no longer a question of whether the non-Western three-fourths of the world is going to "go Western." The question is which items from the Western cafeteria the non-Western world is going to select, and whether this combination of dishes makes up a meal which is healthful, worthless, or downright poisonous.

I might say that some of the things I have heard from my advance informants lead me to be a bit apprehensive. Braceros, so I have been told, tend to be attracted by the tinsel, the blare, the glare of American culture -- the sorts of things to be found in honky-tonk rows (which are, not so incidentally, the only parts of our towns in which braceros are apt to be welcomed). But the proof of the pudding is what they remember when they get back to Mexico -- the impressions which are a force in shaping the remainder of their lives. Will these prove to be nothing more than a handful of spangles? I hope to find out. And, without prejudicing the outcome of the search, I hope the answer is "no."

II. In studying braceros, I cannot help but be a witness to an important chapter in the history of the labor movement in the United States: a chapter in which the preceding history of the movement is being recapitulated before my very eyes. As was said by one of my informants, American farm labor is now at the stage where American labor in general was half a century ago -- at the time of Upton Sinclair's The Jungle, the Pullman and Homestead strikes, etc. In a word, farm labor is completely unorganized. It seems mostunlikely that this condition can long endure. It seems only a matter of time before organized labor becomes aware that an army of a million hungry men, willing to sell their labor cheaply, pose a threat to all the gains the unions have made in twenty years. Attempts will be made, then, to organize the farm labor market. It is equally certain that the employers of farm labor will attempt to prevent such organization.

The contest may be more or less violent, more or less extended, depending on economic conditions, the sympathies of incumbent state and Federal administrations and legislatures, etc.

Where do braceros fit into this picture? They are squarely in the middle. Or, more accurately, they are at present within the employers' orbit, but as labor grows more interested in organizing farm workers, braceros would appear destined to find themselves squarely in the middle, claimed by both labor and management, uncertain which way to turn.

At the present time, the large and fluid pool of braceros is serving to prevent the unionization of domestic agricultural workers. (I do not have time here to document this statement, but it can be supported by rather convincing evidence.) Farm employers are very happy with the situation. Organized labor is largely indifferent, since times are good, and there is practically full employment in trades and industry. But if a pinch comes, labor's attitude is bound to take one of two forms: (1) opposition to the entire bracero program (it may be difficult to abrogate, however, since the international agreements under which it operates run for as long as two and a half years); (2) efforts to organize the braceros themselves. The latter is a most intriguing possibility, fraught with all sorts of controversy. The language of the international agreement between the U.S. and Mexican governments, and the language of the work contracts which the braceros sign, is ambiguous. Employers interpret it to mean that the Mexican nationals shall not join American unions. Labor lawyers have interpreted it to mean that they are free to do so if they wish. So far there have been no test cases. But if it comes to a showdown, as it very well might during the course of my study, the State Department, National Labor Relations Board, Department of Agriculture, Department of Labor, and a host of other agencies, executive and legislative and judicial, Federal and state, U.S. and Mexican, will be involved, and the fur will surely fly.

III. It has been asserted by Professor George Sanchez of the University of Texas, and others, that the presence within the U.S. of a large number of "raw" Mexican nationals is tending to retard the progress of Mexican-Americans toward assimilation within the larger community. Sanchez' reasoning is that the braceros, like the "wetbacks" before them (they are, in many cases, precisely the same persons), tend to be ignorant, unclean, superstitious, docile, etc.; that these qualities tend to reinforce the stereotype which many Anglos have of Mexicans; and that it is an easy step to impute the qualities of the stereotype to all persons of Mexican extraction, even down to third and fourth generation Mexican-Americans. A really complete study of bracerismo, therefore, becomes in part a study of race relations. This is appropriate enough in a project

having to do with health, I think, for "mental well-being," to me, implies a relative freedom from the chains of stereotypes and prejudices, and "social well-being" implies a relative freedom from the inequalities of opportunity which result from stereotypes and prejudices.

I might add that bias and stereotyping are not one way streets, that Mexican nationals and Mexican-Americans undoubtedly tend to think in clichés about Anglos, and none too flattering clichés at that. In any study of intercultural attitudes one should, of course, examine both sides. It seems fair to point out, however, that Anglos, being in a superordinate position, are able to translate their attitudes into a wide variety of social effects. To the extent that one is interested in the operational consequences of prejudice, it is legitimate to devote somewhat more attention to the prejudices of the superordinate group than to those of the subordinate.

IV. In a letter to me, the abovementioned Dr. Sánchez writes, "The effect of both (braceros and "wetbacks") on native labor is essentially the same -- displacement, migrancy, and so on." Here is another ramification of my study which I should like to follow, but which I may have to neglect as a result of time and resource limitations. The whole question of migratory farm labor is one on which we have a great many statistics but little real understanding. Spokesmen for one point of view have told me that people become migrants because they like to be footloose, independent -- some might even say irresponsible. This viewpoint has it that migratory farm laborers are happy doing what they are doing, and wouldn't be happy doing anything else. On the other hand, Sánchez implies that people become migrants because they are forced out onto the roads by aliens. If there were no aliens, presumably these domestic migrants would settle down. This is one aspect of migrancy I should like to examine. Assuming that appropriate statistics on the distribution of domestic farm laborers are available for the past 15 or 20 years, it should be possible to test Sánchez' hypothesis in an ex post facto way.

I am also interested in migrancy qualitatively. I am interested in what it does to people. What is it like to have no roots, no lasting identifications with places or with people other than one's immediate family? How does the migrant's world view differ from the non-migrant's? Such questions arise in my study not only because of the possibly connection between the bracero program and domestic migrancy, but because braceros themselves may be thought of as migrants. Let no one suppose that a bracero works on a single ranch for the period of his contract. He contracts with a growers' association, and he works

wherever he is needed within that association's jurisdiction. Such counties as Santa Clara and Kern are vast and extremely diversified farming areas, and in a six month period the bracero in one of these areas will find himself shuttled about dozens of times to meet varying harvest peaks. He may find himself working for two or more different farmers in a single day. As a rule, therefore, the bracero has no opportunity to get to know anyone well. By the time he makes friends with a cook in a labor camp, or with a straw boss, or with a bartender in town, or with a fellow bracero, he is apt to be shipped somewhere else. ~~This is true nonetheless~~ This is migrancy -- but migrancy with an unusual twist. It is forced migrancy. True, the decision to become a bracero is a voluntary one. (At least on the surface. It toomay be forced -- by economic necessity.) But once the contract is signed, the bracero ceases to be a free agent, and in this respect his migrancy may be distinguished from the migrancy of the domestic farm laborer.*

V. In somewhat the same connection, I have wondered what the condition of indentured servitude does to the bracero's self-reliance, initiative, self-respect. While he is in the U.S., every decision of consequence is made for him. What type of work he will do, where, how many hours per day, what he will be paid, what he will eat, when he will eat it, when he will go to town, what sort of living accomodations he will have, and so forth. It seems like military service, but it is not. It is more so. It is a more tightly closed system. The military offers opportunities for advancement, and presumably cultivates qualities of leadership. In the bracero program there are no such possibilities. A bracero can never become a foreman. He can never be anything more than an unskilled laborer: his contract forbids him to work with any kind of machinery. Not only is leadership not cultivated, it is actively discouraged. Leaders are viewed by growers as potential if not actual agitators and troublemakers. They are summarily shipped back to Mexico. All this is fact, which I shall document in my full report. At this point I want merely to raise the question, what does six to eighteen months of this kind of life do to a man's imagination, his sense of control over his own fate? To answer this question, one needs to know, first, to what extent these qualities are present in braceros before they come to the U.S., and, second, after they have returned to Mexico. If some satisfactory instrument of assessment could be devised, and if the hypothesis underlying my thinking is a sound one, it should be possible to detect differences not only between the "before" and "after" groups, but between those who had been in the U.S. under short-term contracts, and those who had been in this country for a very extended length of time.

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* As it may be on other grounds as well, among the most important being the fact the domestic migrant is usually accompanied by his family; the bracero never is.

VI. Not so very many years ago, a great sociologist wrote an article entitled "Urbanism as a Way of Life." Sociologists, and many others, seem down to the present day to think of urbanism and ruralism as two distinct ways of life. But every passing year brings additional evidence that the family farm, surely the heart of ruralism, is becoming a fossil, crushed by industrialized agriculture -- what Carey McWilliams calls "factories in the field." This, it seems to me, is an important trend, and worthy of the most careful study by sociologists, by public health workers, by everyone with a concern for social and economic conditions and trends. Once again, I think that I see a connection between the subject of my project and this tendency. If I am not mistaken, the bracero program is helping to perpetuate, and perhaps actually serving to accelerate, the movement away from the rural America of our grandfathers, toward a rural America of great corporations -- DiGiorgio Farms, Driscoll Associates, D'Arrigo Brothers, California Packing Corporations. The small grower -- the man we customarily think of when we hear the word "farmer" -- hires no braceros. He plows his own land, he harvests his own crops, with the help of his family, and perhaps a year-around hired man. He is in direct economic competition with the people hired by the big grower (who is not really a farmer at all) to plow, plant, cultivate, and harvest. The small grower has been able to survive in fair numbers so long as the big growers relied primarily on domestic farm laborers. But the bottom was cut out from under the small grower when large growers used "wetback" labor, from approximately 1949 to 1954. And although the situation is not quite so desperate now, the small grower still has a difficult time competing against braceros. It is not simply a matter of wages. As was pointed out to me by a candid employers' representative, braceros work like fanatics. They are driven by fear. They go rather heavily into debt getting to the U.S., and they are desperately anxious to please the boss and to avoid being shipped back to Mexico for malingering. My informant told me that even the most physically fit, most zealous domestic workers are unable to keep pace with the braceros for more than an hour or two. When a big agricultural employer is able to hire 500 braceros to harvest his 2,500 acres of tomatoes or grapes or cotton, he is obviously able to bring his crop to market more rapidly, more efficiently, more cheaply than the small grower who handles his 5 acres himself. For this reason, then, I postulate that the bracero program is helping to consolidate and extend the position of the great industrial farms, and to change the complexion of rural America. I pass no value judgment on this, only maintaining it is something worthy of note by public health people, for example, who in their conferences on "Rural Health" may be talking about a way of life which has virtually vanished.

* * * * *

These are some of the major implications and side-effects of bracerismo which have occurred to me as I have gotten deeper into the study. Others will no doubt emerge as I go deeper still. I do

not mean to suggest that they have replaced, or will replace, or should replace the purposes and problems to which the project was addressed at its outset. The principal themes of the study are still, as they have been, such concerns as (1) the health status of Mexican farm laborers in the U.S.; (2) the factors influencing their health status, including housing, diet, wages, and, particularly, the health attitudes and customs of the laborers themselves; (3) the problems involved in conveying public health and medical care services to these workers, and some possible solutions to these problems.

While such concerns remain the dominant themes of the project, the ramifications discussed in this memo may be thought of as providing the counterpoint and harmony without which any theme seems barren and unsatisfying.

It seems particularly appropriate that at this time I should look for linkages and relationships, and pursue lines of thought which are admittedly tangential to considerations of health as such. For the stated purpose of the Haynes Foundation grant, which runs until May 1, is to sketch in the broad and almost limitlessly ramifying social and economic setting within which the Mexican national, and his health status and concepts and folkways, nestles rather as the littlest Chinese box fits within a larger box, which fits within a larger, which fits within a larger, and so almost ad infinitum.

(4) 4/22-5/31/57

May 31, 1957

Subject: Activities Report, April 22-May 31

To: Files

From: Henry Anderson

April 22-25: Worked in Claremont office.

April 26: Drove to Hemet (a small town in Riverside County; the center of a rich and diversified agricultural valley). Attedded a meeting of the Hemet Valley Growers Association. The discussion at the meeting centered around the following points: under what circumstances may farmers seek to contract braceros? how many may they ask for? what are the actual mechanisms of the contracting process? what are the farmer's obligations under the contract? the workers' obligations?

I also had brief personaltalks with Ed Hayes, Chief, Farm Placement Division, State Department of Employment; Jack Ward, Farm Placement Supervisor, Riverside, San Bernardino, and Orange Counties; Irving de Hoff, Farm Placement Representative, West Riverside County.

April 29: Worked in Claremont office.

April 30: Drove to Los Angeles. Attended the hearings of a special subcommittee of the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on the Judiciary. The subcommittee, chaired by Pat Hillings (R., Calif.), was holding hearings on a proposal that contract field laborers be brought in from Japan in larger numbers. (1,000 are already in California on a trial basis.) The bulk of the testimony had to do with the bracero program, and the lessons it teaches concerning foreign labor programs generally. During recesses, I talked with Congressman Hillings, union representatives, growers, church representatives, the Japanese consul-general, and a couple of Japanese "braceros."

April 31: Talked with Dr. Ralph Beals, Professor of Anthropology, and Dr. Walter Goldschmidt, Associate Professor of Sociology, at U.C.L.A. The former has done

extensive field work in central Mexico; the latter has done research among agricultural migrants in the San Joaquin Valley. Both had valuable suggestions concerning my study. In the afternoon, talked with Mr. Frederick Sears, of the Prudential Life Insurance Company, who is in the midst of an economic analysis of the San Joaquin Valley.

May 2: Worked in Claremont office.

May 3: Drove to Riverside. Talked with Robert Howie, County Agricultural Commissioner. Had a long talk with Jack Ward, Farm Placement Supervisor. In the afternoon, drove out of town to the Riverside Citrus Growers Association bracero camp, which is interestingly situated between the Riverside city dump and sewage treatment plant. Had a long talk with Mr. Botler, manager of the camp. Then back into town for an appointment with Juan Acevedo, Director of the Riverside Community Settlement Association. Mr. Acevedo had many pithy things to say about the effect of the bracero program upon the Mexican-American community. He also suggested several possibilities regarding the unfilled positions on the project.

May 6-7: Worked in Claremont office.

May 8: Drove to El Centro, county seat of Imperial Valley, Calif. (About 200 miles south of Claremont.)

May 9: Talked with Dr. Austin Matthis, Imperial County Health Officer. Talked with Mr. Sumner, Executive Secretary of the Central Labor Council of Imperial County. In the afternoon, drove southward to the border, on the way visiting the El Centro bracero reception center, one of the country's largest. In Calexico talked with Miss Bryan, a social worker; Mr. Phillips, editor of the local newspaper; and Father Vincent, the local priest. Than crossed the border into Mexicali, to inspect the shantytowns and "squatter's camps" which have sprung up in that city as a result of the bracero program.

May 10: Back to El Centro. Talked with Mr. Bailey, head of the local Department of Employment office, and with Mr. Waterman and Mr. Hinshaw, Principal and Dean of Men, respectively, of Imperial Junior College. Through these contacts was able to interview four persons -- two men and two women -- concerning possible employment with the project. Inthe afternoon, talked with Mr. Gubser, Farm Placement Representative, and Mr. Toole, U.S. Department of Labor officer, regarding the operation of the bracero program in Imperial County. In the evening, drove to Brawley.

Talked with Miss Lydia Juarez, Chairman of the Health Committee of the Brawley Community Service Organization. Also talked with Miss Velia Inijosa, receptionist-nurse for a local physician. Miss Inijosa has had considerable contact with braceros seeking medical care, and was able to supply a good deal of evidence that folk medicine is not dead in old Mexico.

May 11: Drove back to Claremont.

May 13-14: Worked in Claremont office.

May 15: Drove to Berkeley.

May 16: Discussed administrative problems with Martha Parker. Worked in Berkeley office.

May 17: More discussions with Mrs.Parker. More work in Berkeley office. Talked with Julian Friedman about bracero health insurance, which, it seems, is one of the largest group plans in existence, and yet has received nothing like the publicity of H.I.P. or Permanente, which are of comparable size.

May 18: Drove to Sacramento.

May 20: Talked with George Geary, Assistant Chief, Farm Placement Division, State Department of Employment. Mr. Geary is in charge of the certification of need for braceros throughout the state. Worked for twohours or more pulling together unpublished data from his files. In the afternoon,talked with Miss Frances McFeely, of the State Department of Social Welfare. Then had a long and most interesting interview with Carlos Aniceto Gutierrez,a reporter with the Sacramento Bee. Senor Gutierrez has just come to this country from Mexico, where he made something of a specialty of research and writing on the subject of braceros and bracerismo.

May 21: Drove to Stockton. Talked with Father Thomas McCullough, one of four priests given "floating assignments" by the Bishop of the San Francisco diocese, to serve the transient Spanish-speaking population. Father McCullough spends most of his time with braceros. Inspected a "hospitality house" for braceros being built in downtown Stockton by volunteer labor, under the direction of Franciscan fathers of the St. Mary's Church. (In additionto other facilities, this center will have a dispensary.)

May 21 (cont.) Inthe afternoon and evening, drove around San Joaquin County, visiting a number of bracero camps, taking pictures, and talking with the men.

May 22: More of same. Ate lunch with the men in one camp; dinner with those in another. Also visited a camp of domestic farm laborers. At night, was kept in a camp of braceros until after 10:00, at their request, even though they had to get up at 4:30 the next morning to begin cutting asparagus. My tape recorder was the big attraction.

May 23: Drove to Claremont, having several varieties of car trouble on theway.

May 24: Worked in Claremont office. Talked with the Vocational Counsellor of the Claremont High School regarding the possibility of hiring students for summer employment with the project.

May 27: Drove to Long Beach. Attended meeting of the Committee on Health Problems of Migratory Labor, Western Branch, APHA. This was recently appointed as a standing committee by the Board of the Western Branch. Dr. Frederic Kriete is chairman. Committee members presentincluded Dr. Austin Matthis, Dr. Ruth Howard, and Mr.Jack Mathews. Consultants present included Dr. Charles Gardipee, Dr. Sydney Norwick, Miss Jeanette Simmons, Miss Helen Johnston, representatives of California Physicians Service, California Health Insurance Council, Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, USPHS, and others. The principal topic of this two-day committee meeting was: is it possible to reach agricultural migrants with health insurance, and, if so, how?

May 28: Continuation of committee meetings.

May 29: Registered at annual meeting of Western Branch, APHA, being held at the Lafayette Hotel, Long Beach. Attended selected meetings of Sanitation, Venereal Disease, and Health Education Sections.

May 30: Attended general meetings. Had personal talks with Helen Johnston, Rural Health consultant, USPHS, and George Marx, Chief, Sanitation Division, Arizona State Department of Public Health.

May 31: Further meetings of the Western Branch. The afternoon plenary session was devoted to a panel discussion of what is being done for the health of migratory farm laborers. Talked with Mr. Feichtmeir, of Pan-American Underwriters, which handles the health insurance for California's braceros.

(5) 6/1-6/30/57

July 3, 1957

To: Files

From: Henry P. Anderson

Subject: Activities Report, June, 1957.

Sat., June 1: Talked with Gabriel Smilkstein, M.D., who was formerly employed at the Bravo Clinic in Los Angeles. The Bravo Clinic provides medical care formany of the braceros in the Southern California area.

Mon., June 3: Worked in office. In the evening, talked with Charles Leslie, Instructor in Anthropology at Pomona College, who has recently returned from several years of field work in Mexico, who had much to say about bracerismo, folk medicine, and general conditions of research in Mexico.

Tuesday, June 4: Interviewed Dr. Hubert Herring, Professor of Latin American Studies, Claremont Graduate School. Worked in office and in library.

Wednesday, June 5: Talked with administrators at the Sawyer School of Business in Pomona, and the State Department of Employment, concerning the possibility of secretarial help. Both were encouraging. In the evening, drove to Riverside, where I interviewed two dandidates for the position of interviewer, and one candidate for the position of secretary.

Thursday, June 6: Worked in office. Had lunch with Dr. Harry Ball, Department of Sociology, Pomona College, and with Randolph Fischer and Robin Cartwright, two of Dr. Ball's students. Fischer and Cartwright have just completed a senior project having to do with braceros, an idea which was implanted following a talk I had with Dr. Ball last February. In the afternoon, interviewed Mrs. Nellie Arevalo, a candidate for the job of secretary, sent to me by the State Department of Employment.

Friday, June 7: Drove to Los Angeles. Interviewed Ricardo Livas, who is interested in the position of interviewer with the project. Mr. Livas has just received his B.A. in Sociology from U.C.L.A.

Saturday, June 8: Drove to Pomona. Interviewed Miss Yvonne Legarreta for the position of secretary. Talked with the Throne Employment Agency regarding the two positions.

Monday, June 10: Interviewed Miss Rachel Contreras regarding the job as secretary. Worked in office.

Tuesday, June 11: Talked with William H. Mohler, Farm Placement Representative for South and East Los Angeles County. Worked in office.

Wednesday, June 12: Worked in office. In the evening, drove in to Los Angeles. Had an extremely fruitful four-hour talk with Francisco Bravo,M.D., founder and director of the Bravo Clinic. Not only does the Bravo Clinic minister to the medical care needs of thousands of braceros in this area, but Dr. Bravo himself set up the health insurance program under which all braceros in the Western States are covered. That is, Dr. Bravo handled the strictly medical aspects of the planning, while the actuarial and other aspects were handled by the insurance carriers.

Thursday, June 13: Worked in office and in library. In the evening, attended a meeting of the Claremont Intercultural Council. This organization is composed of Mexican-Americans and Anglo-Americans who are interested in achieving greater integration between the two groups through education, employment opportunities, etc. The last half hour of the meeting was set aside for me to discuss my project, and its possible implications for the sorts of things the Council is interested in. This evoked considerable discussion; I received many good ideas, and made many contacts which will be valuable in the future.

Friday, June 14: Drove to Riverside. Interviewed Simon Gonzalez, who is interested in working with the project as an interviewer. Mr. Gonzalez seems the most likely candidate so far. Drove back to Claremont. Had another talk with Charles Leslie, Instructor of Anthropology, Pomona College.

Saturday, June 15: In the morning had a long and interesting talk with Ignacio Lopez, editor and publisher of El Espectador, one of the two Spanish-language newspapers in the greater Los Angeles area. In the afternoon, drove with Mr. Lopez to a bracero camp in Irwindale, where we inspected the facilities at some length,and talked with several of the men. Also talked with a number of the townspeople of Irwindale. (There are 600 or more braceros; 300 or fewer "civilians.")

Monday, June 17: Worked in office. In the evening, talked with Nate Cisneros,a leader of the local Mexican-American community, and a man with many useful ideas about farm labor, braceros, and the like.

Tuesday, June 18: Worked in office. In the evening, talked with Robin Cartwright, senior in sociology at Pomona College. Mr. Cartwright, before coming to college, lived all his life in Mexico, and has many opinions about the effect of the bracero program on the economy, health, etc., of Mexico. His wife, who is Mexican, also participated in the discussion.

Wednesday, June 19: Drove to Los Angeles. Had a long and exceedingly rewarding talk with Armand Feichtmeir, Manager, Pan American Underwriters. This is the company which administers the health insurance program under which all braceros in California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, and western Arizona are covered. It appears that Mr. Feichtmeir is sufficiently interested in the project to place at my disposal the company's records (claims from the bracero program, to be exact) covering the past 5 or 6 years. In the afternoon, talked with Dr. Belle Dale Poole, Maternal and Child Health Consultant, State Department of Public Health, who offered to help me with problems of medical interpretation which might be posed by the Pan American Underwriters' records.

Thursday, June 20: Talked again with Miss Legarreta and Mrs. Arevalo, identified above. Drove to Riverside for another interview with Mr. Gonzalez, also identified above.

Friday, June 21: Worked in office. In the evening talked with Mrs. Anita Strub, of the Claremont Intercultural Council, whose husband used to own a farm near San Diego where "wetbacks" and braceros were employed.

Saturday, June 22: Had a long talk with Mr. andMrs. Donald Bray. Mr. Bray is a Ph.D.candidate in Political Science. His special interest is U.S.-Mexico relations, and he has done a good deal of research on the contract labor program from this point of view. He and his wife returned last fall from a year anda half in Mexico.

Sunday, June 23: Had a long and interesting talk (tape-recorded) with Mr. Jose Torrez,who for 15 years has worked as a crew leader of Mexican nationals -- first "wetbacks", now braceros.

Monday, June 24: Worked in office. Had another talk with Mr. and Mrs. Bray, in the evening.

Tuesday, June 25: Drove to Riverside. Interviewed Mr. Edward Boteler, Manager, Riverside Agricultural Association farm labor camp, which currently has 250-300 braceros. Talked with Mr. Rubio, Assistant Manager of the camp. Talked with Juan Acevedo, Director, Riverside Community Settlement Association. In the evening, talked with Mr. Cisneros, identified above, and with Mr. Dan Martinez, student of Latin American Affairs, Claremont Graduate School.

Wednesday, June 26: Worked in office and library. In the evening, had a long session with Mr. Gonzalez and Mr. Martinez, identified above. We were working on a standard interview guide to be used in the bracero camps. It is now definite that Mr. Gonzalez is ~~xxx~~ to be employed by the project for this work on an hourly basis. Mr. Martinez' interest in the project is discussed below.

Thursday, June 27: Had a discussion with Mr. Martinez and Dr. Ramon Ruiz, visiting professor of Latin American Affairs at the Claremont Graduate School. Dr. Ruiz is Mr. Martinez' faculty adviser, and chairman of his thesis committee. The two are so interested in what I am doing that Mr. Martinez now proposes to do his thesis on a complementary subject -- namely, the influence of the bracero program on the acculturation of Mexican-Americans. Naturally, nothing could make me happier.

Friday, June 28: Drove to Los Angeles. In the morning, had a two-hour interview with John Baxter, Area Supervisor, State Division of Housing. This agency has sole responsibility for inspecting and certifying labor camps for occupancy By braceros. Mr. Baxter's territory includes everything south of SanLuis Obispo and Kern Counties. In the afternoon, had another two-hour interview, this time with Anthony Rios, National President, Community Service Organization, a group dedicated to integration and general betterment of the Mexican-American and Spanish-speaking populations in the United States. Mr. Rios invited me to attend the annual board meeting of this organization, tobe held next month, at which conditions among agricultural labor will be the prime topic of discussion. Also in the afternoon, talked with Eugene Lowrey, Secretary, National Community Service Organization.

Saturday, June 29: Worked in office.

Sunday, June 30: Talked with Jesús Huerta, who came to this country from Mexico as a young man 36 years ago, and has done farm labor in this area ever since.

(6) 7/1-7/31/57

August 12, 1957

To: Files

From: Henry Anderson

Subject: Activities Report, July, 1957

Monday, July 1: In the morning, talked with Dr. Ramon Ruiz, visiting professor of Latin American Affairs at the Claremont Graduate School, and with Mr. Dan Martinez, a graduate student who proposes to do his M.A. research and thesis on the subject of braceros. In the afternoon, went through a "dry run" of the questionnaire I have prepared on health attitudes and experiences. Found it ran too long, so another edition will be necessary. (The sixth.)

Tuesday, July 2: Talked again with Dr. Ruiz in the morning. Then worked in office until midnight.

Wednesday, July 3: Drove to Riverside. Had a long discussion with Simon Gonzales, who is to be interviewer with the project. He has had relatively little experience in social research, but has had rather extensive contacts with braceros, and seems genuinely interested in the project, and willing to learn.

Thursday, July 4: Worked in office.

Friday, July 5: Another talk with Dr. Ruiz and Mr. Martinez. The questionnaire has undergone another metamorphosis. In the evening talked with Mr. and Mrs. Carl Hertel, who have spent some time in Mexico. Mrs. Hertel's father is an avocado rancher near San Diego who has had extensive dealings both with "wetbacks" and with braceros.

Saturday, July 6: Worked in office.

Sunday, July 7: Worked in office.

Monday, July 8: Worked in library. Worked for several hours with Mr. Martinez on the questionnaire. We are preparing a Spanish translation. (Mr. Martinez is working toward his M.A. in social studies during the summers. During the winters he teaches high school Spanish.)

Tuesday, July 9: More work in library. Several more hours with Mr. Martinez.

Wednesday, July 10: To Riverside again. A five hour session with Mr. Gonzales.

Thursday, July 11: Worked in office. Two hours with Mr. Martinez. A ~~The~~ Spanish version of the questionnaire is now completed.

Friday, July 12: Worked in office. In the evening talked with Mr. Donald Bray, a political scientist who is particularly interested in the impact of the bracero program on U.S.-Mexico relations.

Saturday, July 13: To the San Antonio Farm Labor Camp. Had a long and very satisfactory interview with Mr. Blythe Rosenberger, manager of the camp, which houses approximately 500 braceros. After dinner, returned to the camp with Dan Martinez, and conducted a group interview with approximately 200 braceros who were due to return to Mexico the next day. After the group interview, conducted six individual interviews, which were tape recorded. The recorder, far from being the hindrance to good rapport which I had feared it might be, has proved an aid in this respect. In return for the favor of their granting me their time, I am able to do the braceros the favor of letting them hear their voices played back. At least they consider this a favor, none of them having had this intriguing experience before.

Sunday, July 14: Worked in office.

Monday, July 15: Worked with Dan Martinez in transcribing the results of Saturday's interviews. At 8:00 p.m., left for hospital with my wife. At 8:15, Rachel born. At 8:30, arrived at hospital.

Tuesday, July 16: Worked in library, and in office.

Wednesday, July 17: Drove to Los Angeles. Spent the day working with records in the office of Francisco Bravo, M.D., medical director of the health insurance program under which every bracero in the Western U.S. is covered.

Thursday, July 18: To Riverside for another talk with Simon Gonzales.

Friday, July 19: To Riverside again. Another discussion with Simon Gonzales concerning the questionnaire. Also talked with Juan Acevedo, director of a settlement house to which braceros come for English language lessons and for recreation.

Saturday, July 20: To Los Angeles. Attended the annual convention of the Community Service Organization. Appeared on an afternoon-long panel on the subject of bracerismo. Other speakers were Dr. Ernesto Galarza, Research Director of the National Agricultural Workers Union (AFL); William Simonson, organizer for the National Packinghouse Workers Union (CIO); Max Mont, executive director, Jewish Labor Committee; John Henning, Research Director, California State Federation of Labor; Rev. John Coffield; Rev. Thomas McCullough; and Rev. Donald McDonnell. After the meeting broke up, talked at considerable length with two delegates from Stockton who indicated some interested in doing interviewing for my project on a volunteer basis.

Dolores?

Sunday, July 21: To Los Angeles again for further meetings of the Community Service Organization convention.

Monday, July 22: To Riverside for further talks with Simon Gonzales.

Tuesday, July 23: To Los Angeles. Worked all day with data in the office of Dr. Francisco Bravo.

Wednesday, July 24: Worked in office. In the evening, drove to Cucamonga, where the Southern California Farmers Labor Association camp is located. When it is full, this camp holds about 750 men, but there are only about 300 there at thepresent time. Had a long talk with Ray Orton, manager of the camp. Talked with José Islas, assistant manager, Ramon Romo, manager of the camp commissary, Jacinto Alvarado, head cook, and with various other camp officials, as well as with a number of the braceros in the camp. Mr. Orton invited me to have dinner there. I said, "All right, as long as it's exactly what the men are having." As things turned out, though, we had steak and turkey, among other things, which is not exactly what the men had. I felt smothered by kindness. I wondered vaguely if the red-carpet treatment was intended to influence the tenor of my report.

Danny Martinez

Thursday, July 25: Work in office and in college library. Another talk with Dan Martinez concerning the questionnaire.

Friday, July 26: To Los Angeles, for another full day in Dr. Bravo's office. His records are not perfectly suited to my purposes, but they will do very nicely in the absence of any other records of any kind.

Saturday, July 27: Worked in office.

Sunday, July 28: Worked in office.

Monday, July 29: Worked in library.

Tuesday, July 30: Worked in library and in office. Simon Gonzales, it appears, has defected.

Wednesday, July 31: Worked in office. In the evening, had a nice talk with Mrs. Esperanza Gonzales (no relation to Simon). Mrs. Gonzales has lived in Claremont many years, and is well informed on the impact of the Mexican National traffic on the local Mexican-American population.

(7) 8/1 - 8/31/57

September 9, 1957

To: Files

From: Henry P. Anderson

Subject: Activities Report, August, 1957

Thursday, August 1: Worked in office. In the evening had quite a long talk with Randolph Kane, who is a journalist by profession. He has spent a good deal of time in Mexico, in the general area where I propose to begin my studies. As a journalist, trained to observe people and relationships, he was able to give me some very helpful advice.

Friday, August 2: Worked in office during the day. In the evening, went to the home of Robin Cartwright, a senior in Sociology at Pomona College. Mr. Cartwright has lived for 22 years in Mexico, is married to a Mexican girl, and considers himself at least as much Mexican as American. Since Mr. Gonzales left the project without warning two weeks ago, I have searched my mind and soul concerning a replacement. I believe Mr. Cartwright may be my man. Before getting into this work, I thought the interviewer would surely need to be of Mexican descent himself. I have since learned, however, that there is a good bit of reciprocal animosity between braceros and Mexican-Americans, and that the former are apt to look upon the latter with as m uch suspicion as they are apt to look upon an Anglo. Therefore, so long as the project is located in the U.S., there is little point in insisting that interviewers be members of la raza. When the project moves to Mexico, and it becomes possible to hire native Mexicans to interview their own kinsmen, it will be different story. In any case, I discussed the whole matter with Mr. Cartwright, who seemed very much interested.

Saturday, August 3: Had another long talk, both with Mr. Cartwright and with his wife. He is currently attending Summer School, but will be happy to conduct interviews in nearby bracero camps as his schedule permits. Between the Summer and Fall sessions, he will be able to work practically full time. After the regular term begins, his time will be limited again, but he will do what he can, assuming the project still needs his services. Mr. Cartwright is the first person I have met who combines the following attributes: (1) training in sociology and anthropology; (2) familiarity with the Spanish language and Mexican culture; (3) personal interest in the bracero program and its implications. I feel that the project is fortunate to have him on the team.

Sunday, August 4: Worked in office.

Monday, August 5: Worked in office. Met and talked with Dr. Hilton, Professor of Pre-Medical Sciences at Pomona College, who has been to Mexico every summer for many years, pursuing archeological studies which are his avocation.

Tuesday, August 6: Worked in Associated Colleges library. In the evening, had another discussion with Robin Cartwright. He has now been sufficiently well oriented that he is virtually ready to go out into the camps to begin administering the questionnaire.

Wednesday, August 7: Drove to Cucamonga with Dan Martinez, identified in previous Activities Reports. Mr. Martinez has narrowed his thesis topic down to the following problem: what has been the impact of the bracero program on the Mexican-American population? He has chosen the little town of Cucamonga as a case study. It has a Mexican-American colony of approximately 500 persons, and a bracero camp with approximately 500 men. Although Mr. Martinez' subject is tangential to my own, I feel our interests are sufficiently similar that we should work together in many ways. I helped him prepare a questionnaire to be administered to the Mexican-American community; he helped me with mine to be administered to the braceros. On this particular day, we talked with the local priest, a couple of storekeepers who have lived in Cucamonga for something like 65 years between them, and with the manager of the local bracero camp.

Thursday, August 8: Worked in office. In the evening, talked with Miguel and Angelina López, who have recently moved to Claremont from Guadalajara. Guadalajara is the capitol of Jalisco, which is the state from which perhaps more braceros come than any other. It is the second largest city in Mexico, with a population of approximately 500,000. I am now thinking very seriously of establishing my headquarters there, or near there, when I move down to Mexico.

Friday, August 9: Drove to Los Angeles. Talked with people in the USPHS, U.S. State Department Passport Agency, Mexican Consulate, etc., concerning my plan to conduct research in Mexico for an extended period of time. It looks dreadfully as though it will be a long haul before I'll be able to set foot across the border. While I was in the Mexican Consulate, I also had the opportunity to talk with the Vice-Consul whose special job it is to keep tab on the braceros in this area, to process their grievances, etc. If the truth be known, he was not particularly helpful. If the truth be further known, this did not surprise me greatly.

Saturday, August 10: Drove to Irwindale, a microscopic town about 20 miles from Claremont. Had a very satisfactory talk with Mr. J.W. Kennedy, Secretary-Manager of the San Gabriel Valley Farm Labor Association, which is another name for a bracero camp. Also talked with Xavier Piedra, Assistant Manager of the camp. Had a brief talk with Dr. Walter Baro, camp physician, and made arrangements to talk with him at greater length on a future date.

Sunday, August 11: Drove to Pomona. Talked with Jesús and Chuey Arévalo, brothers who come from Guadalajara. Jesús is a former "wetback" and former bracero who has now entered the country under a passport, and intends to remain here permanently. He was able to tell me of the comparative ways of life of the "wetback," the bracero, and the visero (permanent entrant). Chuey, his brother, arrived from Guadalajara only a month ago or so, and was able to give me practically up-to-the-minute information on the bracero situation in that part of the country.

Monday, August 12: Drove to Cucamonga again with Dan Martinez. We interviewed the local judge, a storekeeper, an evangelistic preacher, and the owner of a combination tavern and dance hall (where, so it appeared, more went on than drinking and dancing).

Tuesday, August 13: Had another talk with Angelina López, identified above. Worked in office. In the evening, talked until nearly midnight with Robin Cartwright concerning the questionnaire, which has had to be revised rather extensively once again.

Wednesday, August 14: Drove to Irwindale with Mr. Cartwright. Had another chat with Mr. Piedra, Assistant Manager of the camp. Then tested the questionnaire on some of the men. Took some photographs.

Thursday, August 15: Talked with Mr. Leonardo Padilla, of Juárez, Mexico, who now makes his home in Pomona. He is an older man, in the insurance business, but he tells me that he might be interested in doing some work for the project on a part-time basis. Here is the opportunity not only to have some further interviewing done, but to test in a modest way my hunch that a native Mexican with reasonable aptitude may prove to be the best of all possible interviewers.

Friday, August 16: Worked in office. In the evening, drove to the San Antonio Labor Association (a bracero camp) in Ontario, with Mr. Padilla. We had a nice talk with Mr. Rosenberger, manager of the camp. We ate dinner with the men. Then Mr. Padilla began trying out the questionnaire, but before too much could be done, it was time for lights out.

Saturday, August 17: Worked in office. In the afternoon, talked with Mr. Cartwright, who has been going to the Irwindale camp the past two evenings on his own to interview the men. Further changes will have to be made in the questionnaire on the basis of some of his experiences.

Sunday, August 18: Worked in office.

Monday, August 19: Worked in office. Wrote to Norman Craig, of the Pan-American Sanitary Bureau in Mexico City, to find out if he has any suggestions for facilitating my move to Mexico and commencement of operations there.

Tuesday, August 20: Talked with Donald Bray, identified in earlier Activities Reports. Another talk with Mr. Cartwright. Worked in office, and in library.

Wednesday, August 21: Drove to Los Angeles. Set up a "field station" in the offices of Pan American Underwriters, Inc., the company which handles the non-occupational health insurance for all braceros coming through the El Centro reception center -- 165,000 in 1956, probably more this year. The hundreds of thousands of claims submitted to this company since it has been in the business are open to me. I am overwhelmed. Each correctly completed form has on it the following information, among other things: claimant physician, hospital, pharmacy, ambulance company, etc.; Mexican national's name; employer's name; date of onset of illness; date service rendered; diagnosis; therapy; cause of condition (in case of accident); whether on-the-job or off-the-job; and fee. I repeat, I am overwhelmed. AllI can do is try to tabulate the pertinent information from as many thousands of claims as time permits, taking care to see that various sections of the state, various seasons of the year, etc., are represented. When I see the battery of 40 filing cabinets or so, chuck full of precious green forms, all of them at my disposal -- I wish there were some metaphysical way I could suck up their contents, and have it all, to hell with sampling procedures. I am greedy. And I am overwhelmed.

Thursday, August 22: Stayed in Los Angeles overnight. Another full day at Pan American Underwriters.

Friday, August 23: Back to Claremont. Worked in office. A long talk with Mr. Cartwright, who is working out very well indeed as an interviewer.

Saturday, August 24: Another talk with Mr. Cartwright. Worked in office and in Associated Colleges library.

Sunday; August 25: Worked in office.

Monday, August 26: Back to Los Angeles again. Another round at Pan American Underwriters. In the evening, to the Irwindale bracero camp, where, with Robin Cartwright, talked with a fellow from Guadalajara who is, as the anthropologists say, a "good informant." He had a great deal to say, from his own experience, about folk medicine in Mexico, about health services available to the men in the camp, etc. This interview was tape-recorded, which is the procedure we propose to use with the one man in ten or so who is a "good informant."

Tuesday, August 27: In the morning, hammered out the 14th revised edition of our instrument which I have been calling a questionnaire, but which is actually somewhere in the middle ground between that and an interview guide. In the afternoon, drove to Azusa for a discussion of two hours or so with Dr. Walter Baro (identified above) in his professional chambers. He is extremely enthusiastic about what I am doing because he has high hopes it will shed important light upon a hypothesis he holds, based on his own practice: namely, that the substantial majority of the braceros' physical complaints are psychogenic -- far more than one encounters in a practice among Americans, or in a practice among Mexicans living at home in Mexico.

Tuesday, August 27: (cont.) In the evening, drove to Pomona for another talk with Mr. Padilla. Unhappily, he finds that he cannot spare the time from his insurance business that he originally thought he could. So, after having been able to complete only two interviews, he is having to leave the project.

Wednesday, August 28: Worked in office. Still another discussion with Mr. Cartwright.

Thursday, August 29: Drove to Los Angeles for another day with Pan American Underwriters.

Friday, August 30: Stayed overnight in Los Angeles. Again, worked at Pan American Underwriters.

Saturday, August 31: Worked in Associated Colleges library. In the late afternoon, drove to Upland, for an interview with Dr. Walter Wood, who is the physician for the bracero camps in both Ontario and Cucamonga. Dr. Wood was a medical missionary in Brazil for 30 years, and is muy simpático.

Dolores

(8) 9/1-9/30/57 9/25

October 10, 1957 (Important)

Memo To: Files

From: Henry Anderson

Subject: Activities Report, September, 1957

Sunday, Sept. 1: Worked in office. I am having to pack up all my office materials, and to look for a new office. My landlady has decided that she wants to use the space for another purpose. Luckily, I have found another place which looks as though it may work out.

Monday, Sept. 2: Labor Day. Labored in office.

Tuesday, Sept. 3: Drove to Los Angeles. Worked on materials from the files of Pan-American Underwriters Company.

Wednesday, Sept. 4: Had a rather long talk with Danny Martinez, who has all but completed his field work on the subject of the impact of bracerismo on the Mexican-American population. He has interviewed more than fifty persons in the hamlet of Cucamonga, and now proposes to begin the analysis of his material. Worked in office until midnight.

Thursday, Sept. 5; Talked with Robin Cartwright, who is doing good work among the braceros at a camp in Irwindale, about 20 miles from Claremont. Also had a talk with Mr. Padilla, who has withdrawn from his position as part-time interviewer with the project, but is still happy to help out by giving advice whenever asked.

Friday, Sept. 6: Moved the project materials, which have taken on a bulk which is positively dropsical, to my new office.

Saturday, Sept. 7: Sick. Worked on Pan-American Underwriters data in bed. Task of the moment is to classify the diagnoses entered on the participating physicians' claims according to the WHO code. The task is not easy, since the physicians have wandered far from the categories and terminology of the International Statistical Classification in many instances.

Sunday, Sept. 8: Sick. Worked in bed.

Monday, Sept. 9: Up and around. Worked in office. Had a long talk with Robin Cartwright, and threshed out a number of respects in which the standard interview guide will have to be revised once again.

Tuesday, Sept. 10: Drove to Irwindale for an interview with Dr. Walter Baro, physician for the bracero camp located in that town. Back to Claremont. Worked on sixteenth edition of our questionnaire, until midnight.

Wednesday, Sept. 11: Worked in office and in Honnold Library. In the evening had another productive talk with Mr. Cartwright. He has been very successful in establishing rapport with his informants, apparently. He seems to be accepted as "one of the gang," even though his skin is fair and his hands free from calluses. On his most recent visit to a bracero camp, for example, after the evening's interviews were concluded, the men in one of the barracks threw a watermelon feed in his honor. I believe that such tributes are rather rarely paid interviewers by their "victims."

Thursday, Sept. 12: Drove to Los Angeles. Put in another full day in the offices of the Pan-American Underwriters Company. I believe that I now have enough cases to prepare some fairly meaningful tables, so for the time being I'll pester the Pan-American Underwriters people no more. Later, perhaps, I can return and pull out data from other areas of the state, other seasons of the year, etc.

Friday, Sept. 13: Worked in office, classifying and tabulating Pan-American Underwriters data.

Saturday, Sept. 14: Worked in office, typing stencils of tables of abovementioned data.

Sunday, Sept. 15: Worked in office on same job.

Monday, Sept. 16: Talked with Dr. Harry Ball, Assistant Professor of Sociology at Pomona College, who has been interested in my project ever since I first discussed it with him last February. Dr. Ball is an extremely intelligent fellow, and has been a lot of help to me. Had a three and a half hour session with Jesús Huerta, a Mexican citizen who lives in Claremont. Señor Huerta has been kind enough to help me in the preparation of the questionnaire in Spanish.

Tuesday, Sept. 17: Further talks with Dr. Harry Ball and Robin Cartwright. Mr. Cartwright will be working under Dr. Ball during his forthcoming (senior) year at Pomona College, and it looks as though we will be able to hammer out a senior project for him which will have to do with the bracero program and will dovetail with the work he has been doing for me.

Wednesday, Sept. 18: Day off. David has operation. Hernia

Thursday, Sept. 19: Drove to the San Antonio Employment Association bracero camp in Ontario, San Bernardino County. At the invitation of Dr. Walter Wood, camp physician, I observed the camp clinic in operation for an hour or so. Was able to get some pictures which should prove interesting. Back to Claremont. Talked again with Mr. Cartwright.

Friday, Sept. 20: Worked in office, preparing materials to be distributed to members of the project Advisory Committee.

Saturday, Sept. 21; Sunday, Sept. 22; Monday, Sept. 23; Tuesday, Sept. 24: More of same. Am fortunate in that the Pomona College social science departments have placed at my disposal their office equipment, including ditto machine and calculator.

Wednesday, Sept. 25: Drove to Berkeley, leaving 6:30 A.M., arriving 3:15 P.M. Had a chance to talk business with Mrs. Parker and Mrs. Boston before the school closed. In the evening, continued working on stencils to be dittoed for Advisory Committee meeting.

Thursday, Sept. 26: Had talks with Dr. Rogers, Mrs. Parker, Julian Friedman, Andie Knutson. Sandwiched in between, worked on materials for advisors.

What happened to Advisory Committee meeting?

Friday, Sept. 27: More work on dittoed materials. Finished by 2:00 P.M., thanks to assistance from Veronica Smith above and beyond the call of normal duty. To Calif. State Department of Public Health. Had a good talk with Dr. Irma West, Medical Officer of the Bureau of Adult Health. Dr. West has been doing some research on a series of fourteen bracero deaths which have occurred in California over the past two years and which have as yet not been satisfactorily explained. Even after thoroughgoing autopsies, they remain medical enigmas, although all manner of hypotheses have been advanced, ranging from organic phosphate poisoning to witchcraft.

Saturday, Sept. 28: Drove to Stockton. Met with half a dozen members -- Louis Gonzales, Dolores Huerta, Rod Rodriguez, et al. -- of a committee of the Stockton CSO which is interested in the problem of farm labor in general, and may become interested in the problem of braceros particularly. The CSO (Community Service Organization) has chapters in many cities throughout California and Arizona. Its members are for the most part Mexican-Americans, and it is primarily concerned with serving the needs of this group. The Stockton chapter is interested in farm labor because it seems many citizens of Mexican ancestry in the area have been unable to continue in their old jobs in agriculture due to the competition of braceros. Although my study is not by any means directly related to their interests, I believe that some members of the chapter see the value of pure research, and will be willing to do a little interviewing on a volunteer basis. In the evening, attended a public meeting of the Stockton CSO, at which Anthony Rios, National President, spoke. After the meeting, talked with Mr. Rios and others. Then, to the St. Linus Mission in Stockton, where I talked until 1:00 A.M. with Father Thomas McCullough, one of the few priests in the entire country who has been assigned by his bishop to work with braceros.

Sunday, Sept. 29: Toured several bracero camps in the Stockton area with Father McCullough. In the late afternoon, drove to Sacramento.

Monday, Sept. 30: Talked with Carlos A. Gutierrez, of the editorial staff of the Sacramento Bee. Mr. Gutierrez, a Mexican citizen in this country under a visa, has done considerable research and writing on the subject of the bracero program, both in this country and in Mexico. Then to the State Department of Employment, Farm Placement Section, where I had a talk with George Geary, Supervisor in charge of the

Farm Placement Service Section's activities in connection with the bracero program. I was seeking some statistics on how many braceros had been employed by certain Associations at certain times of the year. These figures are necessary in order for me to calculate rates of utilization of doctors' services, using the Pan-American Underwriters data I have already gathered. Mr. Geary told me with regret that I could not have the statistics. If I had asked two months ago, yes. But now, no. It seems that Dr. Ernesto Galarza, of the National Agricultural Workers Union has been giving the Farm Placement Service a bad time. He avers that he found more than a thousand American workers who normally work in the peach harvest of the Sacramento Valley out of work this year. He went to the Farm Placement Service and asked for the numbers of Mexican Nationals who were employed in that area at that time picking peaches. He made no bones about the fact that he intended to use the figures to demonstrate the fact that braceros had displaced American citizens. The Farm Placement Service (which has the responsibility of seeing that nothing of this kind occurs) was loath to become a party to an exposé of its own activities. So the Chief of the Service, Edward F. Hayes, turned Galarza down. Having established this precedent, the Service is now turning down all requests for such information, regardless of the uses to which the information is to be put. I relate this episode in some detail because it demonstrates more clearly, perhaps, than has been demonstrated before that I am working in a controversial area, where talk of pure research sometimes counts for very little when the chips are down.

(9) 10/1-10/31/57

November 7, 1957

Extremely important.
Ref. to Blum, p. 2
p. 3
Mex. consulate

SUBJECT: Activities report, October, 1957

TO: Files

FROM: Henry Anderson

Tuesday, Oct. 1: Drove to Berkeley from Sacramento. Worked on materials for Advisory Committee meeting. Spent the afternoon in the State Health Department's Bureau of Adult Health, going over materials collected by Dr. Irma West in her investigation of a series of "mystery" deaths among braceros.

Why?

Wednesday, Oct. 2: Talked with Julian Friedman and with Dr. Rogers concerning project. Continued preparation for Advisory Committee meeting.

Thursday, Oct. 3: Conferred with Mrs. Parker regarding a number of administrative details which have arisen since my last trip to Berkeley. In the early afternoon, talked with Dr. Foster, then to the Advisory Committee meeting. Minutes of the meeting are being prepared separately. In the evening, talked with James Downs, graduate student in anthropology, and Fritjof Thygeson, graduate student in political science, who had been recommended to me as persons with special interest in my field of research.

?

Friday, Oct. 4: In the morning, had a conference with Dr. Taylor of the project advisory staff. In the afternoon, a long discussion with Dr. Knutson, who has replaced Dr. Nyswander on the Advisory Committee due to Dr. Nyswander's retirement. Then, further talks with Mrs. Parker and Mrs. Boston, to iron out a few remaining administrative wrinkles.

Health Education

Saturday, Oct. 5: Drove to Stockton. Talked with Dolores Huerta and Louis Gonzales, leaders of the Stockton chapter of the Community Service Organization. Since I last talked with them a week ago, they and their compatriots have done some interviewing, using my "healthways" questionnaire. They have attempted a new departure in method: interviewing braceros who have come into town for the evening, rather than going into the camps for the interviews. This technique has the advantage of removing the informant from the constraints, subtle and not so subtle, which operate so long as he is within camp limits. On the other hand, a new bias is introduced into the sample. Or, rather, several new biases. Those braceros who are sick or broke, and those who are "green", will stay in camp rather than coming into town in the evenings.

Sunday, Oct. 6: Spent the day with Father McCullough, the Catholic priest who works practically full time with braceros. I think I can say that quite a warm friendship has sprung up between us.

Monday, Oct. 7: Drove from Stockton to Visalia. Met a man by the name of Bard McAllister, and had quite a long talk with him. Mr. McAllister is the Farm Labor Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee. A bit of background may be in order. A couple of years ago, the AFSC realized that the problems of farm laborers in the U.S. had not ended with the publication of The Grapes of Wrath. The Committee raised the funds for a three-year project, the purpose of which was to see if solutions couldn't be formulated for the perennial problems of migrancy, low wages in agriculture, etc. Mr. McAllister and his wife were chosen to work on this project, and Visalia, in the heart of the San Joaquin Valley, was selected as their headquarters. Now, the reason I am particularly interested in Mr. McAllister's work is this: after being on the job nearly two years, he has come around to the point of view that there can be no satisfactory solutions to the problems of American farm labor so long as the situation is aggravated by the presence of Mexican Nationals. In his search for root causes and root remedies, he has been unable to avoid such questions as "why are there braceros here?" "what effects are they having?" "how much longer are they going to be here?" and "what might be done about the bracero program?" I am naturally delighted to meet a kindred soul who, like me, is (a) engaged in action-oriented research and (b) convinced that the bracero program is inextricably intertwined with long-standing tendencies in American agriculture.

Tuesday, Oct. 8: Drove from Visalia to Claremont.

Wednesday, Oct. 9: Worked in office.

Thursday, Oct. 10: Worked in office. Talked with Mr. Cartwright, who finds that he must resign from his position as interviewer with the project in order to devote his full-time to studies at Pomona College. However, he has been given permission to do his senior honors thesis in sociology on the subject of the bracero program and what makes it tick. So I'll be keeping in close touch with him. His line of inquiry will relate very closely indeed to that suggested as crucial by Dr. Blumer: the power structure at work within the program. Suggested at 10/3/57 advisory mtg.

Friday, Oct. 11: Drove to San Bernardino to pick up tourist permits to Mexico. Instead, I had to be picked up when the Vice-Consul was through with me. It is very plain that I will not be welcome in Mexico under a visa, tourist permit, or any other conditions. Someone has suggested I enter as a sort of reverse wetback. I fear not. I fear the situation is an impossible one. I am not capable of doing my work in a police-state atmosphere. Maybe this is an idiosyncrasy. Maybe not. Maybe a decent job of social research requires an atmosphere of mutual respect and trust.

Saturday, Oct. 12; Sunday, Oct. 13: Unpacked things which had been prepared for shipment to Mexico. Tried to figure out what to do now, having given our landlady notice, having spent our savings on passports, passport photographs, immunizations, etc.

Monday, Oct. 14: Worked in Pomona College Sociology and Anthropology Department. Used calculator in preparing tabular materials for project.

Tuesday, Oct. 15: More work in S. & A. Dept. Used ditto machine to duplicate tables.

Wednesday, Oct. 16: Worked in office. Had lunch with Angelina Lopez, who comes from a little town in central Mexico and is visiting mutual friends in Claremont for a short while. Miss Lopez relates many an interesting story concerning the influence of the bracero program on her village.

Thursday, Oct. 17: Worked in office.

Friday, Oct. 18: Drove to Los Altos, Santa Clara County. The American Friends Service Committee is having a conference to discuss the progress and problems of its Farm Labor Project, and invited me to attend as a resource person. In pre-conference discussions which lasted well beyond midnight, talked with Mrs. Josephine Duveneck, chairman of the Committee, and with others.

Saturday, Oct. 19: The conference lasted all day. In breaks, had a chance for personal chats with Mr. Coleman Blease, executive secretary of the Friends Committee on Legislation, and other key people. During lunch, buttonholed Mr. Fred Heringer, another resource person at the conference. Mr. Heringer is a peach grower in the Sacramento Valley, and in his spare time is chairman of the Labor Committee of the California Farm Bureau Federation. He is a highly articulate and able spokesman for the viewpoint which the large growers of the state hold toward Mexican Nationals and toward farm labor in general. Mr. Heringer invited me to attend the annual convention of the California Farm Bureau Federation, to be held in Fresno next month.

Sunday, Oct. 20: Had a talk with an incongruous and hence fascinating figure, one Harvey Richards. Mr. Richards is a very wealthy gentleman who lives in a mansion in Atherton. He clips coupons on annuities for a living. In the time that is left over, he travels about poking into the sordid, forgotten backwashes of our society, doing what he can to help our disinherited. He has no political influence, no organizational alliances, and as he told me somewhat wistfully, he does not consider himself competent to do the tasks of data-gathering and research that there are to be done. So he takes pictures. Colored slides. He is convinced of the efficacy of this medium of popular education. He then tried to get his pictures into the hands of people who do have influence, organizational affiliations, etc. Now, in his collection

are an immense number of slides of bracero camps and working conditions. It has long been my desire to build up a collection of such slides for use in illustrated lectures, and so that I could have opaque copies made for inclusion in my written reports. Tediously and at considerable expense I have been building up my collection. Then I met Harvey Richards! He placed at my disposal literally hundreds of shots, some of which were technically inferior, and some of which were irrelevant to my needs, but most of which I could use and accepted with thanks.

Monday, Oct. 21: Drove from the Bay Area back to Claremont.

Tuesday, Oct. 22: Worked in office, preparing for talk which I was to give the next day.

Wednesday, Oct. 23: Spoke to Dr. Alvin Scaff's seminar in sociological methods and theory. Described the project's aims, study design, accomplishments, and frustrations. The students seemed an unusually sharp bunch -- perhaps only because they were able to confound me with a few diabolically conceived interrogations.

Thursday, Oct. 24: Worked in office.

Friday, Oct. 25: Worked in office.

Saturday, Oct. 26; Sunday, Oct. 27; Monday, Oct. 28; Tuesday, Oct. 29: Took these days off in order to hunt for a place to live.

Wednesday, Oct. 30: Drove to Visalia. Arrived in the late afternoon. Spent the evening talking with Bard McAllister, and going through some of the materials in his files.

Thursday, Oct. 31: Spent the day with Mr. McAllister, examining at first hand the agricultural scene in Tulare County. Talked with farm workers in the fields and orchards, went through some of their housing, went into grape and olive packing sheds, etc.

Met Walter Francis? (10) 10/1/57 - 2/28/58

March 3, 1958

TO: Files

FROM: Henry P. Anderson

SUBJECT: Activities Report, November 1, 1957 - February 28, 1958.

Principal activities of this period may be summarized as follows:

(1) Tabulation and arrangement of data gathered from the files of Pan-American Underwriters Co., California State Department of Employment, U.S. Department of Labor, and elsewhere.

(2) Extensive library research.

(3) Preparation of approximately the first half of a comprehensive report on the bracero program. Initially envisaged as a report to the Haynes Foundation, it is now believed this document will be of interest to many other individuals and organizations as well, and it is hoped some means may be found of effecting a fairly wide distribution. The first half of the report runs to about 350 pages. The second half has been sketched in expanded outline form.

(4) A two-week field trip to Northern California was made for the following purposes:

(a) Consultation with Dr. Rogers, Mrs. Parker, and others concerning applications to N.I.H. for supplementation and/or continuation of the project.

(b) Gathering of data from the Giannini Foundation Library, University of California School of Agriculture.

(c) Interviews with Dr. Ernesto Galarza, National Agricultural Workers Union; Al Norton, U.S. Department of Labor; George Geary, California State Farm Placement Service; and others intimately associated with the bracero program.

(5) Preparation of an application to N.I.H. for a supplementary grant; preparation of one for a continuation grant.

(6) Preparation of a progress report in support of these applications. Despite efforts to keep it as brief as possible, this report proved to be some 110 pages in length. 40 copies were sent to Bethesda, Maryland. Relation to Haynes report?

(7) A one-week field trip to El Centro and Calexico was made. It served the following purposes:

(a) Recruitment of interviewers (three were hired on a temporary basis).

(b) Original research. A 1% sample of the El Centro Reception Center's 200,000 or more bracero contracts was begun, for the purpose of determining where braceros come from, where they go, what they do, how long they stay, how old they are, whether they are married or single, etc. -- things not accurately known at the present time.

When did I meet Walter Francis? (1) 3/1-3/31/58

April 3, 1958

TO: Files

From: Henry P. Anderson

Subject: Activities, March, 1958

(1) Delivered illustrated lectures on the subject of the bracero program to two church groups, a service club, and two college groups.

(2) Attended hearings conducted by the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Agriculture, on the question of the extension of the bracero program beyond its present expiration date (June 30, 1959).

(3) Interviewed during the month the following persons:
- (a) Clive Knowles, International Representative, United Packinghouse Workers of America.
- (b) Rev. Douglas Still, California Director, Migrant Ministry.
- (c) Rev. Thomas McCullough, "bracero priest."
- (d) John Ariaudo, M.D., Medical Director, Imperial Valley Farmers Association.
- (e) David Johnston, Manager, Yuma Growers Cooperative Association.
- (f) Henry Solomon, Field Representative, Yuma Growers Cooperative Association.
- (g) Robert Gubser, Farm Placement Representative, California State Department of Labor, El Centro.
- (h) Ignacio López, publisher, El Espectador.
- (i) José Diaz, schoolteacher.
- (j) Mrs. Ezekiel Cortéz, housewife.
- (k) Dr. Howard Young, Professor of Romance Languages, Pomona College.
- (l) Stephen I. Zetterberg, attorney-at-law.

(4) Made field trip to Imperial Valley to smoothe out certain snarls in the interviewing procedure there. From the three interviewers who were formerly working on a part-time basis, have selected one (Louie M. Tagaban) to work on a full-time basis beginning April 1.

(5) While at the Bracero Reception Center in El Centro, continued the work, begun last month, of drawing a 1% sample of the contracts issued at the center over the past year, to establish important facts unavailable elsewhere, such as marital status, residence in Mexico, etc.

(6) Continued work on the extended report tentatively entitled The Bracero in California.

(12) 4/1-6/25/58

June 25, 1958

Note what is omitted!

To: Files

From: Henry P. Anderson

Subject: Activities, April 1 - June 25, 1958

Continuing activities during this period included the following:

1. Collection of data from interviews with Mexican Nationals.
2. Transcription of raw data from schedules to code sheets.
3. Hand tabulation of selected data.
4. Formulation of systems for key-punching and mechanical tabulation of data.
5. Preparation of narrative report.

Special activities included field trips to the San Francisco Bay Area, San Joaquin Valley, Imperial Valley (two), Washington D.C. and New York, and El Paso. The following individuals, among others, were interviewed:

1. Urie Bronfenbrenner, Cornell University
2. Mary Elizabeth Laughlin, Associate Public Health Analyst, California State Department of Public Health
3. Harvey Richards, free-lance photographer and writer
4. Ernesto Galarza, Secretary, National Agricultural Workers Union
5. A.D.Huxley, Chief, Region X, Bureau of Employment Security, U.S. Department of Labor (San Francisco)
6. Al Norton, Employers Service Supervisor, Foreign Labor Division, U.S. Department of Labor (San Francisco)
7. Fred Toombs, Employers Service Representative, USDL, El Centro
8. Bert Harrigan, Manager, Imperial Valley Farmers Association
9. Gilbert Chell, Field Representative, Imperial Valley Farmers Association
10. Dr. Lawrence Speer, U.S. Public Health Service, El Centro bracero reception center
11. Rev. Thomas B. McCullough, "bracero priest."
12. DeWitt Tannehill, Local Representative, National Agricultural Workers Union (Marysville-Yuba City)
13. Arthur Potts, Chief, Aid to Needy Children Division, California State Department of Social Welfare
14. Robert Stevens, Farm Placement Supervisor, California State Department of Employment
15. George Geary, Farm Placement Supervisor, California State Department of Employment
16. George Ballis, Editor, Valley Labor Citizen, Fresno
17. Paul Taylor, Professor of Economics, University of California
18. Roscoe Zuckerman, owner, Mandeville-Zuckerman farms, Stockton
19. Alfred Zuckerman, manager, Mandeville-Zuckerman farms, Stockton
20. William Duarte, manager, San Joaquin Valley Farm Production Association
21. Juan Leandro de Cisneros Villa, bracero

22. Harlan Hagen, Congressman, Tulare-Kings-Kern Counties
23. James Roosevelt, Congressman, Los Angeles County
24. E.C.Gathings, Congressman, Chittenden County, Arkansas
25. Helen Johnston, Program Development Section, Bureau of State Services, U.S. Public Health Service
26. William Yanello, same
27. Dr. MacGregor, same
28. Dr. Donald Harting, Chief, same
29. Rev. James L. Vizzard, Executive Secretary, National Catholic Rural Life Conference
30. Don Larin, Chief, Farm Placement Section, Bureau of Employment Security, U.S. Department of Labor
31. Andrew Schoenthal, Chief, Foreign Labor Division, Farm Placement Section, B.E.S., USDL
32. Robert Klineberger, Chief, Compliance Service, Foreign Labor Division, F.P.S., BES, USDD
33. E. Raymond Wilson, Executive Secretary, Friends Committee on National Legislation
34. Richard Shipman, Legislative Representative, National Farmers Union
35. Harry Mitchell, President, National Agricultural Workers Union
36. Milton Plumb, Publicity Director, AFL-CIO National Office
37. Paul K. Reed, Treasurer, U.S. Section, Joint U.S.-Mexico Trade Union Committee
38. Bard McAllister, Farm Labor Secretary, American Friends Service Committee
39. William Carr, Executive Secretary, National Education Association
40. Bernard Nossiter, reporter, Washington Post
41. Bradley Smith, photographer, Life
42. Mrs. Martha Lewis, Executive Secretary, National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor
43. Mrs. Elizabeth Herring, Assistant Secretary, National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor
44. Monsignor Thomas Higgins, Executive Secretary, Catholic Social Welfare Conference,National Headquarters
45. Louis Tilden, field representative, National Child Labor Committee
46. Carey McWilliams, editor, The Nation
47. Robert Steed, editor, The Catholic Worker
48. Edward Reed, administrative officer, Fund for The Republic
49. Eulalio Torres, Chief, Contract Labor Section, Migration Division, Department of Labor, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico
50. Louise Shotwell, Migrant Ministry, National Council of Churches
51. Norman Thomas, writer, lecturer
52. Fay Bennett, Executive Secretary, National Sharecroppers Fund
53. Gardner Jackson, Treasurer, National Sharecroppers Fund
54. Dr. Andrew Sackett, Chief, ForeignQuarantine Division, U.S. Public Health Service
55. Dr. Ralph Gregg, medical officer, same
56. William Olson, administrative officer, same
57. Horace Robertson, statistician, same

58. Dr. Harold Lyman, Foreign Quarantine Division, U.S. Public Health Service (El Paso)
59. Cleon Rhoades, manager, El Paso bracero reception center
60. Dr. Pluff, USPHS physician, El Paso bracero reception center
61. Sr. Sequeira, Mexican consul, El Paso bracero reception center
62. H.D.Clinite, Regional Director, Foreign Labor Division, Farm Placement Section, Bureau of Employment Security, U.S.Department of Labor (El Paso)
63. Sam Sosa, Employers Service Supervisor, same
64. William Irvin, partner, Irvin and Echols Insurance Brokers, El Paso
65. Benjamin Yellen, M.D., Brawley, Calif.
66. Eugene Schaefer, Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Department of Justice (El Centro)

A slide lecture was given before a group of USPHS employees in Washington, D.C., and another before a group of private physicians in Claremont.

Two days were spent with Dr. Yu-Han Chang, China Medical Board fellow. We talked with the health officers of Los Angeles and San Bernardino Counties, and with Agricultural Extension Service representatives, as well as enjoying extensive personal discussions.